4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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fictive terms is of course sometimes prompted by nothing more than the desire to be polite, but equally often it symbolizes genuine feelings of affection and obligation not too different from what the terms imply when they are used in their original kinship context. Bang Chaners have a wonderfully convenient term, *phyan-yaad*, a compound meaning literally "family friends," which is used to refer both to friends to whom ego feels so close that he considers them members of his family and to individuals whom he considers his friends *because* they are members of his family. The particular persons to whom this term, as well as those noted above, is applied vary widely from informant to informant (expectedly so because they are non-institutionalized terms). However, the point to be emphasized is that for all villagers kinship provides a basic referential mechanism for expressing the degree of psychological affiliation that they feel toward other human beings.

An *awareness* of degrees of psychological affiliation and obligation and of the modes for expressing such sentiments are very much a part of village life. For with the exception of the five institutions mentioned above, most Bang Chaners, as I have noted elsewhere (Sharp *et al.* 1956: 241), are really not obliged—and do not feel obliged—to be beholden to anyone but themselves. In a very real sense, the village is comprised of 1,771 individualists whose major goals in life are to obtain sufficient land to support themselves, their growing children, and their religion, free from physical insecurities and unencumbered by entangling social obligations. When they enter into relationships with other people they do so with an awareness that they are always acting of their own free will.

Despite the conventions of ethnographic reporting, it is difficult to delimit the precise nature of the nuclear family in Bang Chan. The nuclear family clearly is the ideal for all villagers, but because Bang Chaners are just as responsive to convenience as they are to custom, there is considerable variation regarding this ideal. In his study of the economy of the village, Janlekha (1955) found it necessary to distinguish five different kinds of functioning, mutually exclusive household units in Bang Chan: the typical nuclear family (59.4 percent of all households); a limited extended family, consisting of a man, wife, either or both their sets of parents, and unmarried children (8.1 percent); an extended family, consisting of the limited extended family plus married children, the latters' children, and any collateral relatives of any generation (26.8 percent); a one-person family (5.4 percent); and the ecclesiastical "family," consisting of the order of Buddhist monks, the only truly corporate group in the village (0.3 percent). (These variations of the nuclear family, all localized groups, should of course not be confused with what I, following Sharp [1957], have been calling the kindred, with what Kaufman [1960] refers to as spatially and

592 do not share the same arrangements for preparing and consuming food.

621 The 298 families living in Bangchan on May 23, 1953
59 may be grouped into five categories: (1) "One-person house-
[792] hold" consisting of a lone man or woman /for ease in typological manipulation we arbitrarily consider this as a family, although strictly speaking a one-person household is not a family/; (2) "Nuclear family" consisting of a man and wife and their unmarried children; (3) "Limited extended family" consisting of a man and wife, either or both their sets of parents, and their unmarried children; (4) "Extended family" consisting of those included in "limited extended family" plus married children and children of the latter, plus any collateral relatives of any generation; and (5) "Ecclesiastical family" consisting of Buddhist priests, novices, and temple boys, all males, living together in the temple under the Headpriest's supervision. The distribution of these different types of families so defined is shown in Table 3.

592 Further explanation is perhaps necessary with respect
596 to the "extended families" in Table 3. It must be pointed
621 out that the term 'extended' is here used for the sole purpose of defining types of families which include dependent married couples as differentiated from the ordinary independent nuclear family. It will be seen in the next section, however, that there is no permanency in this inclusion of married couples whose intention is always to establish an independent family of their own. The so-called 'extended' family in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF FAMILY
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

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Family Types	Frequency	Per Cent
One-person household	16	5.4
Nuclear family	177	59.4
Limited extended family	24	8.1
Extended family	80	26.8
Ecclesiastical family	1	0.3
Total	298	100.0

591 A factor that should also be taken into account was that he
592 had a regular income of 450 baht a month from his job in the
434 Highways Department, which by the village standard was more than enough for him to live comfortably with his second wife.

591 Historical records of the 96 farm operating families do not contain information as to how the 50 families passing through nascent period were divided into those staying with wives' families and those staying with husbands' families. The 1953 census, however, reveals that of 48 married couples then living in 42 families of parents of either side (four such families included two couples and one family three couples), 23 were with husbands' parents and 25 with wives' parents. The proportion may thus be estimated at about one to one.

59 During the nascent period, the couple ordinarily
434 received from the parents they were staying with a kind of
[431] annual bonus locally called lampai which varied according to the economic status as well as generosity of the parents. Lampai took several different forms. Thus, a couple might receive all the paddy harvested from a specified area of the field of three, five, or ten rai; they might be given a fixed quantity of the crop -- say 50 or 100 tang; they might receive cash -- say 500 baht or any other varying amount. In some cases, the couple were expected to earn their lampai outside the family farm after obligation to family work had been fulfilled. This took the form of piece-working or trivial trade.

59 If no lampai was given, the parents might give some gold in
[431]

59 [431] the form of a necklace as a token of appreciation. During this time, no matter how old they were, the couple should ask permission before going out or at least let the parents know where and why they wanted to go, and they were expected to help without having to be asked to in the family's field and in general housework.

Opinions of the villagers themselves on the advantages and disadvantages of the nascent period varied. On the one hand, staying with parents was viewed as a prolongation of a morally compulsory service to the old family which was economically disadvantageous to the newly wed couple. This was implicit in the following statement made by one villager concerning the length of the nascent period.

> There are many factors which determine the length of the nascent period:
>
> 1. Availability of family labor. If younger siblings are old enough to help the parents, the couple will spend only a short time with the old family.
>
> 2. Greed on the part of the couple. They want to have a share of the product of their labor. If they stay with parents, they are not supposed to get any unless the parents are willing to give it to them. They think, 'If we have a child, what would we have for him?' So they try to move out as soon as possible.
>
> 3. Lack of self-confidence on the part of the couple. This leads to a prolonged stay. Even when younger siblings are old enough to help the parents, the couple still may feel more secure to stay with the parents, for they do not want to take care of themselves.
>
> 4. Pride. Nang A married Nai B and continued to live with her parents. One day A was criticized for being sharp (she was accused of keeping part of the crop for her own). So A and B got together and planned to move outwith the intention of building

59 themselves up ; financially to compete with A's parents.

The same informant said further, however, that usually it was up to the couple themselves to decide when to leave the old family. Parents, in his words, "rarely drive the offspring out. They also rarely resist the couple's decision to leave. The most they can do in case labor is badly needed is to ask the couple to stay a year or two longer."

591 494 On the other hand, a second informant, a headman as was the first, indicated that the five-year period he and his wife spent with his wife's parents immediately after their marriage in 1922 was their most prosperous time. As [431] lampai the couple were given the harvest from a 5-rai parcel each year. When he married, he already had five baht weight [426] of gold. With surplus income, he was engaged in lending for interest. Accumulation during their five years' stay with the parents included timber enough to construct the new home when they moved out, one hundred tang of paddy, and forty baht weight of gold.

As a matter of fact, there are several factors that should be taken into consideration in evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of a newly wed couple undergoing the nascent period. These are the lampai arrangement, willingness of the parents to let the couple earn extra income from sources outside the family, current wage rate and job opportunity, and, most important, the current profitability of the farming business which is assumed to be the alternative

591 if the couple do not choose to stay with the parents. In
434 any event, the fact that the couple are more or less free to leave the old family provides an opportunity for the couple to escape all the disadvantages that might be imposed upon them, leaving all the advantages to be acquired.[10] As for those who apparently discounted the merit of the nascent period, the author suspects that they neglected to consider the expected net income from farming and that they were unrealistic in thinking only of wage rate and in underestimating the more crucial problem of job opportunity.

• 59 In addition to their own wealth accumulated during
431 the nascent period, gifts in the form of farm equipment,
434 paddy and land were usually given to the couple by their parents at the time they left them to establish an independent family. Of 80 separating families (Table 7), however, 17 reported that they received nothing whatsoever from their parents. Among the remaining 63 families that received something, there was a wide variation in the kind and the amount of the gift, ranging from a single buffalo with an incomplete set of farm equipment to 228 rai of rice land with a complete set of farm equipment as well as a stock of paddy to last the new family until the coming harvest. Parental gifts to newly established families are shown in Table 8.

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10. At least two cases were known where the couples, not ready to start a family of their own, left the old families and moved into families of the other spouses.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 91]

593 There was one item of parental gifts which is not
431 shown in Table 8 -- the household equipment. Two of the
415 63 families reported that they received a complete set of kitchen utensils, and two included jars in their gift lists. After checking the result of this survey with some informants, however, many admitted that they did not include these kitchen utensils in the list because they were obvious items. Nevertheless, there was no basis on which it could be inferred that every newly established family received a set of the kitchen utensils. It was therefore decided to omit the household equipment from the table.

593 Another form of parental gifts was the practice,
427 if the parents had enough land to spare, of letting the
423 couple work on some ten or twenty rai free of charge for the first two years. Rent might be charged after that, but there were also cases in which the couples continue to work on the parcel without paying any rent to their parents and finally took it for granted that the parcels belonged to them.

Economic Significance of the Family

• 59 Much space has been devoted to discussion of the family because of its significant role as the only organized producing unit in the village economy. Another important function of the family was mentioned in previous sections -- through privileges extended to the majority of newly wed couples during the nascent period, the old family facilitated

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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59 the establishment of a new family, virtually a new farm. It must be noted in this connection, however, that not all new families started out with financial resources. There are circumstances like incongenial relationship between the dependent couple and their parents or other members of the family, tight financial situation of the old family, or extreme optimism on the part of the young couple themselves that brought about premature fission.

243 433 59 [423] The role of the family becomes more outstanding when the following features of rice farming are considered:

1. In Bangchan, as elsewhere in the rice producing areas of Thailand, a farm means rice land available for the family to till because farm income depends more on rice acreage than anything else.

2. An operator is generally not in a position to reallocate his resources in order to obtain higher income. Usually he does not, for example, put in more labor to get a better crop, for crop under existing technology would not increase with more labor than normally used. He does not put in fertilizer, for it is not certain, in his thinking, that profit is assured in so doing. He does try to improve his rice strains for greater yield, however.

[464] 3. The only way to increase income from rice with no change in technology (other than improving strains), then, is to increase acreage utilizing the same amount of family labor. This is the case, as we shall see in a later chapter on farm organization and management, because of the existing under-employment of family labor.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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4. The operator may increase his acreage by renting in more rice land. It is highly improbable that the extra parcel would be one adjacent to the old parcels. This involves extra cost of irrigation and drainage and a buffalo shed. Yet the most important problem is how to lay a hand on the extra parcel, since the practice of most landowners is to rent their land out to their former tenants. When all cultivated land in the village has been tilled, an extra parcel to one naturally means a reduction of the same to another.

5. With limited land which has no prospect of intensification as far as rice production is concerned, the size of the family becomes the limiting factor of the level of living. This is rendered more acute by the customary practice of offspring continuing to live with their parents regardless of their age. When they get married, either spouse's parents are likely to suffer another mouth to feed, and in many cases the babies that will eventually arrive.

It is seen, then, that discussion of rice farming which is the core of the village economy cannot be separated from the context of the family.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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Family workers are members of farm operating families other than the farm operators themselves who regularly participate in the farm work of the families. These do not include children of school age who occasionally help in the farm work especially during the busiest period.

Hired laborers are farm laborers who are hired for all or part of the work season for more or less fixed wages in kind or in cash. These hired laborers have in addition to their yearly wage a privilege to board and lodge freely at their employers' home, and thus become part of their employers' household. The contract, usually verbal, is on a one year basis.

Piece-workers are farm laborers who receive wages on a piece-work basis for such short-term tasks as uprooting the seedlings, transplanting, and harvesting. Payment for piece-work is made at the end of the day at going rates. It has been observed that most of the extra work in Bangchan is done by piece-workers, and that very few farms engage hired laborers. Piece-workers may be called independent workers, for they have no obligation other than finishing the day's task agreed upon. They may work whenever they please and may stop working altogether if they have enough money. The disadvantage of piece-workers is that they do not have, as hired laborers do, the guarantee of a job. This is quite crucial especially if under-employment of farm labor exists.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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There are reasons to believe that newly established indigenous families had tended to take up farming. First, rice growing is probably the only profession that these newly wed couples had been properly trained for.[5] Second, during their nascent period their financial preparation had been oriented toward starting a rice farm. This is best illustrated by a remark of a Bangchan operator whose daughter and her husband were about to start an independent family:

> A (informant's son-in-law) is now (1954) 24 years old. I have known him since 1948 when he was a transient family member of 5. A married my daughter C in 1952 and has since been living with me. He is a very diligent man who works even in the dry season -- digging earth and that sort of thing (for his own lampai).
>
> I gave the couple 200 tang of paddy for their lampai for last year's work. I am going to give them the product from 10 rai for this year's work.
>
> Already the couple have accumulated from their lampai the following: two baht weight of gold, lumber enough to construct a farm house, and 100 tang of paddy. I told them not to keep their money in cash. When they receive a certain amount of money, I instruct them to buy durable goods like lumber or buffaloes. But if they want to lend out money, it's all right with me. Any way, they are not to keep cash. By the way, they have loaned out the 100 tang of paddy, so they will have more paddy when that amount is returned with interest.
>
> The couple will leave me next year. They have most of the things they need for starting a family now. In fact they wanted to start out this year, but I asked them to stay on another year.
>
> When they leave me next year, I will give them the customary parental gifts -- one buffalo, one plow, one harrow, one clothing container, and paddy for seed and for consumption.

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5. See the section on training for farm work.